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[For information on generational differences in attitudes toward, and application of discipline within the household unit, see Category 861.]

829 present study, a foster son of this couple returned from New
186 York after the father's death to live with his mother on the
562 island. Despite the difficult living conditions, the island remains a valued place to come home to for both middle aged and older adults. Those with the greatest degree of identification with island life seemed to be young men and older adults of both sexes.

5.2 Age of Speaker and Language Use

121 Age groups were selected on the basis of natural
• 56 groupings which existed in the island community itself.
484 Young people from the age of junior high school up to the early twenties formed a natural group which commuted daily to the mainland, and organized parties and dances on the island. Middle aged adults from about 30 to 50 had growing families of their own and commuted to mainland jobs daily. Older adults over 65 had either slowed down or quit entirely their mainland jobs and spent much of their time daily on the island itself; they, with a small group of pre-school children, constituted the day-time population of the island.
121 After it became apparent that a portion of the mainland popu-
56 lation differed in important respects from the island com-
184 munity, older adults from the lower socio-economic mainland
121 group were included in the study. Language used by these age
56 groups is compared in Table 6 above (see page 120). The
193 table also reflects the relationship between the social
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121 factors of sex and age and the language used by a speaker.
561 In the middle aged island group, Speakers 9 and 11 are mar-
193 ried to each other; the wife uses no creole features, while
(184) the husband uses some for two grammatical categories.
Speakers 13 and 15 in the younger age group are their daughter and son; the daughter uses creole and nonstandard forms only for the preposition, while the son uses some in every grammatical category. His overall use of such forms is higher than that of his father. Speaker 12 is the father of Speakers 14 and 16 in the young adult group. Again, the daughter uses no creole forms, while the son uses slightly more than his father in every category. By a slight margin, young island men use more creole and nonstandard forms than speakers in any other age group except older mainland women. Middle aged island speakers use fewest of such forms, chiefly due to the language patterns of women in this group, which exhibit almost none of these variants.

There is some indication that sex differences in the
562 use of creole features may begin as early as seven or eight
193 years for islanders. In narratives told by eight island
561 children from the third through sixth grades in school, boys consistently used more creole and nonstandard variants than girls at their level. By fifth and sixth grades, island girls were using no creole forms in the three selected grammatical categories, while boys' use ranged from 14 percent to 100 percent in the pronominal category for the

562 stories the children told in recording sessions. The figures
193 obtained from these narratives were small and cannot be com-
• 561 pared with the data from the longer adult conversations, but they give some indication that sex differences in language use for islanders begin at an early age. In contrast, some of the most creolized utterances obtained in the study were from fifth grade girls and boys of the lower socio-economic mainland group. Mainland girls generally performed better in school than mainland boys in their group, but their language patterns in relaxed conversation were similar. These findings indicate that the factor of 'age-grading' discussed by linguists such as Stewart (1967) and Dillard (1972) operates in rural Georgetown County, and that creole forms may be preserved in the speech of younger children. For the two social groups under discussion here, however, the pattern of age-grading may be different for boys and girls in the island community.

121 5.3 Mobility of Speaker and Language Use

Discussions with Shirley Brice Heath, an anthropologist who has studied language and social relationships in a black urban community in upper South Carolina over a period of five or six years, indicated that geographic mobility might be an important factor in language use. In comparing
193 the experiences of children in the communities we were
369 studying, Heath observed that those children living in the

121 island women use standard forms categorically. Standard
193 forms for the complementizer are used categorically by a
178 more diverse group of speakers: all island men and women in
121 the middle aged group, young island women, one older main-
193 land man and one older island woman. Island men in the
178 oldest and youngest groups and mainland women in the oldest
184 group retain creole forms across all three grammatical categories. Figure 11 indicates which speakers are most resistant to change, according to sex, age, and community membership. Group I is moving most rapidly toward standard forms, while Group III is most resistant to change. Older island women and older mainland men are somewhere in between Group II and III, as indicated by the categorical use of standard forms for the complementizer by one speaker in each of these two groups.

121 In a small number of speakers, carefully matched for
19 sex, age, and social group, it has been possible to find
184 systematic linguistic variation for three morpho-syntactic
18 categories. The activation and progression of linguistic
56 change in these categories are related to the social factors
562 of speaker sex, age, community, and mobility. Those in the forefront of change are young and middle aged women in the island community who have available to them, through occupational roles reserved to their sex, opportunities to participate in a variety of speech events in which standard English is used. Those most resistant to change are also women,

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I. Island women: young and middle aged

II. Island men: middle aged

(Island women: old)
(Mainland men: old)

III. Island men: young and old
Mainland women: old

Figure 11. Linguistic Change by Sex, Age, and Community

though of the older mainland group. Sharing their reluctance to change are older and younger island men, who have different occupational patterns and who may have stronger identification with island life than women. Again, as previous studies of sex-differentiated language use have noted, we find women occupying a paradoxical position in the process of language change. One group of women is strongly resistant to change, while another group is leading the community movement toward standard forms--both groups of women living in an isolated rural area and occupying similar social positions by conventional measures of social class. From my

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592 stoves would come to a halt if wood was not cut in time for
184 meals to be prepared. On the near islands with household
857 supplied with only gas stoves or with both, the child's
861 negligence would not have such dire consequences. In view of this it is easy to see hov the chores of children on the far islands would be a more serious matter, and why such households tend to operate on an <u>everytime reaction ratio</u>.
[593] In contrast, parents on the near islands can more afford the gift of tolerance toward neglected chores, and to react to disobedience on a <u>sometime basis</u>.

• 561 Differences across the generations were much more fre-
593 quent than across island and sex. The element which underly
178 much of the differences was "en ma dae" references of par-
861 ents and older parents. The way this works is that each
592 parent tries to rear children like they were reared. The demands of the environment in which grandparents were reared differ from the household patterns under which parents were reared. The main differences other than that of exposure were in labor habits. Grandparents were reared in farming households. Consequently as children, the grandparents were up before day-break and actively engaged in burdensome farm labor. In these farming households the tasks and responsibilities of children were even more clearly defined than they are today or in the childhood of the present parent generation. Similarly the consequences

561 593 178 861 592 of not completing tasks were harsh because chores were meaningful to the household. It is reference to this agrarian life and the demands for the obedience of children upon which grandparents draw. That the generation of parents now share significantly different childhood references than their parents merely illustrates the component of change in the agricultural habits on the islands. In agreement with this, parents reared in more distant households, where the farm habit is comparatively more active tend to mirror the views of the preceding generation. A similar positive relationship between exposure to the farming habit and the cohesiveness of discipline behavior across the two generations exist on the near islands. The generational differences found in this study can certainly be attributed to the farming versus non-farming pattern. This rationale was expressed vividly by Grand Flower, who at 78 years sees big differences in the rearing habits of her day and those of today. "Billie, let ma tell ya son, we haad no timb fer fooln. Wen d cock taak en bernean we up vete de fas cro. I go ta git d vaata en me sista she giz d vod. Wey be fa d life ob dae comin we haad d bakfax redi. Abta we done vote d pos en plata wen goin ta d fiel. Dey we vaak puen sed en d grun or piken en pulen dat wat don redi, we dey til d timb com n fer fix d supa den bak ta dat huse we goin. We giz d mel fer d men fak, den we carie it ta d fiel we

561 sta en d fiel til d lite nes goin. Billie, ma un I tel ya
593 dey no timb fer d chilin to b disobedient."
178 Today's children are not reared in the farm habit.
861 Few of the parents have had long ~~t~~ exposure to the pat-
592 terns in which the elders were reared. It is consequently the differences in exposure and work habits which underly changes in the generational views of Gullah parents. The significance of differences in the discipline view of the two generations illustrates not only that the "en ma dae" reflections of parent and elder parent differ, but it is also a measure of the direction of change. Grandparents were the most frequent to respondent "ma paren use beetn everytime," while parents and children said <u>often</u> and <u>sometimes</u> more frequently. As a matter of fact, twice as many parents cited they were punished <u>sometime</u> than did elders. The direction of change between the generations is clearly that in each subsequent generation parents are less apt or as quick to punish the child.

861 Still another point to be considered in looking at
562 the relative tolerance of the female parent is that of role
[578] differences. Males consistently cited fighting as one of the chief reasons for being disciplined. On the other hand not getting the chores done was a prime reason for disci-
[462] plining girls. This is explained in that males had few household responsibilities and were not disciplined for

6: Smith I,Y-5 (no date) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

592 198 199 The Sea Island family is a cohesive unit. Many of the tested generational relationships were significant. These differences between generations were primarily attributed to effect of changing economic patterns, and rates of exposure to mainland patterns. The island work force are now 464 199 861 engaged primarily in 9-5 work patterns. The pattern takes this force into job situations in metropolitan Charleston. While the island men tend to work in clusters in the different industries in the region, women are heavily engaged in domestic service work. The projected results are that women because of the nature of their employment were much more exposed and consequently influenced by the tolerant discipline habits of Whites and mainlanders. In contrast, the clustering work habits of males, in which members of families are employed by the same employer has operated to negate the influence of the new work pattern on male parents. 861 198 The more demanding work requirements which accompanies the maintenance of a farm habit was also discussed. It was said that the farm habit upon which the elder is- 561 593 landers base their discipline references was unknown to

86 178 the island children. The parents themselves have been away from this habit for nearly as many years as they were engaged in it. Consequently, the stern disciplinary demands of the farm habit was not being transferred to this generation of young islanders. In this light, the childhood histories of the elder parents was discussed. It was seen how the harsh work habits required in farming families demanded the obedient behavior of children. Under the burden of farm labor, parents were less tolerant of disobedience than parents are today. The reason given was again differences in occupation. It was also said that parents living in isolated communities were apt to discipline children more quickly than parents who have jobs, because they spend time with their children. For the farming parents, the fatigue element was said to diminish their tolerance level, and that isolated households operate in an everytime reaction ratio. These religious beliefs were introduced as elements which influence frequency and methods of discipline. Gullah Island parents, in this vain, strived to rear children under, and by guidance of the Bible. In discussing the sex role differences, parents tend to more rigidly enforce discipline on female children. This relationship was explained along two lines. The first was the status that the male child has on the islands. Here a dominance of females places a premium upon male children.